

Transcript of President Reagan's Address on Arms Reduction

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's address to the National Press Club in Washington yesterday, as recorded by The New York Times:

Officers, ladies and gentlemen of the National Press Club and, as of a very short time ago, fellow members.

Back in April, while in the hospital, I had, as you can readily understand, a lot of time for reflection. And one day I decided to send a personal, handwritten letter to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, reminding him that we had met about 10 years ago in San Clemente, Calif., as he and President Nixon were concluding a series of meetings that had brought hope to all the world. Never had peace and good will seemed closer at hand.

I'd like to read you a few paragraphs from that letter:

"Mr. President, when we met I asked if you were aware that the hopes and aspirations of millions of people throughout the world were dependent on the decisions that would be reached in those meetings. You took my hand in both of yours and assured me that you were aware of that and that you were dedicated with all your heart and soul and mind to fulfilling those hopes and dreams."

Helping the People

I went on in my letter to say: "The people of the world still live in a state of hope. Indeed, the peoples of the world, despite differences in racial and ethnic origin, have very much in common. They want the dignity of having some control over their individual lives, their destiny. They want to work at the craft or trade of their own choosing and to be fairly rewarded."

"They want to raise their families in peace, without harming anyone or suffering harm themselves. Government exists for their convenience, not the other way around. If they're incapable, as some would have us believe, of self-government, then where among them do we find any who are capable of governing others? Is it possible that we have permitted ideology, political and economic philosophies and governmental policies to keep us from

considering the very real everyday problems of our peoples?"

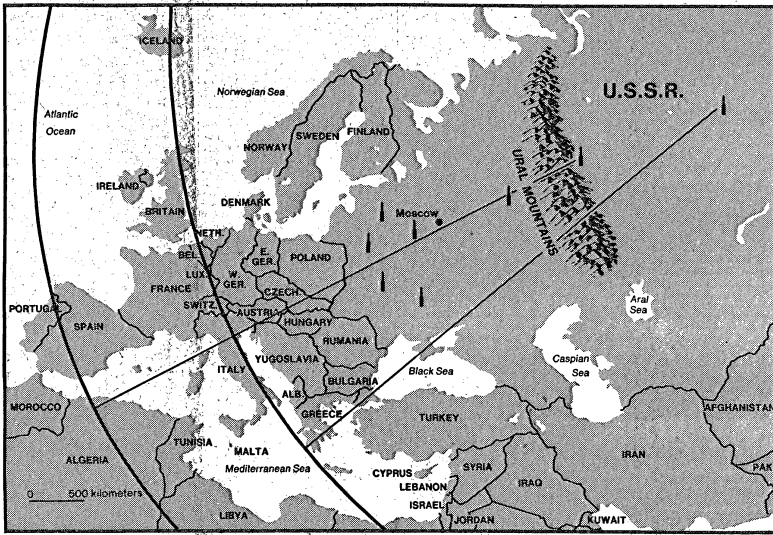
"Will the average Soviet family be better off, or even aware, that the Soviet Union has imposed a government of its own choice on the people of Afghanistan? Is life better for the people of Cuba because the Cuban military dictate who shall govern the people of Angola? It is often implied that such things have been made necessary because of territorial ambitions of the United States; that we have imperialistic designs and they thus constitute a threat to your own security and that of the newly emerging nations."

The American Record

"There not only is no evidence to support such a charge, there is solid evidence that the United States, when it could have dominated the world with no risk to itself, made no effort whatsoever to do so. When World War II ended, the United States had the only undamaged industrial power in the world. Our military might was at its peak, and we alone had the ultimate weapons—the nuclear weapons—with the unquestioned ability to deliver it anywhere in the world. If we had so wished, we could have imposed our security on the world, then who could have opposed us?"

"But the United States followed a different course, one unique in the history of mankind. We used our power and wealth to rebuild the war-torn economies of the world, including those of the nations who had been our enemies. May I say there is no substance to substance to charges that the United States is guilty of imperialism or attempts to impose its will on other countries by use of force."

I continued my letter by saying—or concluded my letter, I should say—by saying, "Mr. President, should we not be concerned with eliminating the obstacles which prevent our people—these people I refer to as the people achieving their most cherished goals?"



This map is a reproduction of the one President Reagan pointed to during his televised speech in which he called for the dismantling of the deployed Soviet SS-20 missiles and rebutted Moscow's arguments that placing them behind the Ural Mountains would "remove the threat to Europe." The two arcs indicate the range of the SS-20's if they were positioned just behind the mountains or a considerable distance farther east. Pointing to the missile figures shown on the map west of Moscow, Mr. Reagan said, "These little images mark the present location, which would give them a range clear out into the Atlantic."

The New York Times/Nov. 19, 1981

An American Program for Peace

Well, it's in the same spirit that I want to speak today to this audience and the people of the world about an American program for peace and the coming negotiations with Soviet leaders in Geneva, Switzerland. Specifically, I want to present our program for preserving peace in Europe and our wider program for arms control.

Twice in my lifetime, I have seen the peoples of Europe plunged into the tragedy of war. Twice in my lifetime, Europe has suffered destruction and military occupation in wars that threatened a third of a century. They can preserve it for generations to come so long as we pursue them with sufficient will and skill.

Today I wish to reaffirm America's commitment to the Atlantic alliance and to the people of Europe. And from my conversations with allied leaders, I know that they also remain true to their commitment. And so, ever, there is no equivalent deterrent to these Soviet intermediate missiles, and the Soviets continue to add new SS-20's.

Now the only answer to these systems is a comparable threat to Soviet threats, to Soviet targets. In other words, a deterrent preventing the use of these Soviet weapons by the threat of a like response against their own territory. At present, however, there is no equivalent deterrent to these Soviet intermediate missiles, and the Soviets continue to add new SS-20's.

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The Need for Weapons

But today, a new generation is emerging on both sides of the Atlantic. Its members were not present at the creation of the North Atlantic alliance; many of them do not fully understand its roots in defense freedom and rebuilding a war-torn continent. Some young people question why we need weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, to deter war and to assure peaceful development. They fear that the accumulation of weapons in Europe could lead to conflict. Some even propose unilateral disarmament.

I understand their concerns; their questions deserve to be answered. But we have an obligation to answer their questions on the basis of judgment and reason and experience. Our policies have resulted in the longest European peace in this century. Wouldn't a rash departure from these policies, as some now suggest, endanger that peace?

From its founding, the Atlantic alliance has preserved peace in Europe through unity, deterrence and dialogue.

First, we and our allies have stood united by the firm commitment that an attack upon any one of us would be considered an attack upon all. Second, we and our allies have deterred aggression by maintaining forces

During a period when NATO deployed no new intermediate-range nuclear missiles and actually withdrew 1,000 nuclear warheads, the Soviet Union deployed more than 700 nuclear warheads on the new SS-20 missiles.

Our response to this relentless buildup of Soviet military power has been restrained but firm. We have made decisions to strengthen all three legs of the strategic triad: sea, land

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Reagan Arms Plan: A New Tone Toward Moscow

By HEDRICK SMITH

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18

— However slim its chances for success in negotiations with Soviet leaders, the administration proposal put forward by President Reagan today culminates a deliberate shift in the tone of American policy toward Moscow.

News from the twisting polemics of last spring for a new push for peacekeeping.

With an obvious eye on the restless anxiety in Europe over talk of "limited nuclear war" and planned American missile deployments, the President dropped his earlier emphasis on "strategic arms control" to Soviet behavior in world trouble spots and presented himself as a ready partner for arms control in Europe.

Mr. Reagan's speech, the first Presidential address ever beamed live by satellite by the American Government to Western Europe, was timed to give maximum impact on European television tonight and to take the initiative away from Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, who began a tour to West Germany on Sunday.

The first reactions from Western European capitals and from Democratic as well as Republican in Congress indi-

cated that Mr. Reagan was credit for having finally moved to rebut the European contention that he is presiding over an erratic, divided, and confused administration. The Soviet press agency Tass rebuffed the Reagan proposal today as "a mere propaganda ploy" that would "actually mean the Soviet Union's unilateral disarmament."

As a practical matter, there seems little chance of the Soviet Union's agreeing for his proposal that Moscow dismantle 60 intermediate-range missiles in Eastern Europe and withdraw all Soviet missiles in advance of the deployment of 572 American missiles in Western Europe in 1983 and 1984.

In an interview with the West German magazine Der Spiegel on Nov. 2, Mr. Brezhnev anticipated the Reagan proposal and dismissed it in advance on grounds that it excluded several hundred American land-based and carrier-based nuclear bombers, submarine-launched missiles and 263 nuclear-armed British and French bombers and submarine missiles.

"Those in the United States who advance this kind of 'proposal' apparently do not for a minute expect that the Soviet Union will accept it," Mr. Brezhnev said. "Most probably the authors of such 'proposals' do not really believe in the possibility of achieving what they need is a breakdown of the talks, which they can use as a sort of justification for continuing the planned arm race."

and air-based. We have proposed a defense program in the United States for the next five years which will remove the neglect of the past decade and restore the eroding balance on which our security depends.

I would like to discuss more specifically the growing threat to Western Europe posed by the continuing deployment of certain Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union has three different types of such missile systems: the SS-20, the SS-4 and the SS-5, all with a range capable of reaching virtually all of Western Europe. There are other Soviet weapons systems which also represent a major threat.

Now the only answer to these systems is a comparable threat to Soviet threats, to Soviet targets. In other words, a deterrent preventing the use of these Soviet weapons by the threat of a like response against their own territory. At present, however, there is no equivalent deterrent to these Soviet intermediate missiles, and the Soviets continue to add new SS-20's.

4 Proposals for Reductions in Arms

Now let me turn now to our hopes for arms control negotiations. There's a tendency to make this entire subject overly complex; I want to be clear and concise. I told you of the letter I wrote Soviet President Brezhnev last April. Well, I've just sent another message to the Soviet leadership.

It's a simple, straightforward yet historic message. The United States proposes the mutual reduction of conventional, intermediate-range nuclear and strategic forces. Specifically, I have proposed a four-point agenda to achieve this objective in my letter to President Brezhnev.

The first and most important point concerns the Geneva negotiations. As part of the 1979 two-track decision, President Brezhnev last April agreed to arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces. The United States has been preparing for these negotiations through close consultation with our NATO partners. We're now ready to set forth our proposal.

I have informed President Brezhnev that when our delegation travels to the negotiations on intermediate-range land-based nuclear missiles in Geneva

on the 30th of this month, my representatives will present the following proposals:

The United States is prepared to accept its deployment of Pershing 2 ground-launched missiles if the Soviet Union dismantles their SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. This would be an historic step.

With Soviet agreement, we could together substantially reduce the dread threat of nuclear war which hangs over the people of Europe. This, like the first footnote on the moon, would be a giant step for mankind.

Now we intend to negotiate in good faith and go to Geneva willing to listen and consider the proposals of our Soviet counterparts. But let me call to your attention the background against which our proposal is made. During the past six years, while the United States deployed no new intermediate-range nuclear missiles and withdrew 1,000 nuclear warheads from Europe, the Soviet Union deployed 700 warheads on the SS-20, SS-4's and SS-5's. And the United States has no comparable missiles.

Indeed, the United States dismantled the last such missile in Europe over 15 years ago.

cate the range of the SS-20's if they were positioned just behind the mountains or a considerable distance farther east. Pointing to the missile figures shown on the map west of Moscow, Mr. Reagan said, "These little images mark the present location, which would give them a range clear out into the Atlantic."

As we look to the future of the negotiations, it's also important to address certain Soviet claims which, left unrefuted, could become critical barriers to real progress in arms control. The Soviets assert that a balance of intermediate-range nuclear forces already exists; that assertion is wrong. By any objective measure, as this chart indicates, the Soviet Union has developed an increasing, overwhelming advantage. They now enjoy a superiority in the order of 6 to 1. The red is the Soviet buildup, the blue is our own. That is 1975, and that is 1981.

Now Soviet spokesmen have suggested that moving their SS-20's behind the Ural Mountains will remove the threat to Europe. Well, as this map demonstrates, the SS-20's, even if deployed behind the Urals, will have a range that puts almost all of Western Europe—the great cities, Rome, Athens, Paris, London, Brussels, Amsterdam, Berlin and so many more, all of Scandinavia, all of the Middle East, all of Northern Africa—all within range of these missiles, which, incidentally, are mobile and can be moved on shorter notice. These little images mark the present location, which would give them a range clear out into the Atlantic.

Strategic Arms Reduction

The second proposal that I've made to President Brezhnev concerns strategic weapons. The United States proposes to open negotiations on strategic arms as soon as possible next year. I have instructed Secretary Haig to discuss the timing of such meetings with Soviet representatives.

Substance, however, is far more important than timing. As our proposal for Geneva talks this month illustrates, we can make proposals for genuinely serious reductions but only if we take the time to prepare carefully.

The United States has been preparing carefully for resumption of strategic arms negotiations because we don't want a repetition of past disappointments. We don't want an armistice of uncertainty or miscalculation. I am renewing our proposal for a conference to develop effective measures that would reduce these dangers.

At the current Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we're laying the foundation for a Western-sponsored conference on disarmament in Europe. This conference would discuss all of these proposals and would be a fair-minded, militarily significant reduction in force regularized by similar types of forces, and adequate provisions for verification.

My Administration, my country and I are committed to achieving arms reductions agreements based on these principles.

Peace: More Than an Absence of War

Today I have outlined the kinds of bold, equitable proposals which the world expects of us. But we cannot reduce more boldly and clearly stated than in the Helsinki accords of 1975. These accords have not yet been translated into living reality. Today I've pronounced an agenda that can help to achieve peace, security and freedom across the globe in a responsible spirit that is matched by positive action.

Preservation of peace in Europe and the pursuit of arms reduction talks are of fundamental importance. But we must also help to bring peace and security to regions now torn by conflict, external intervention and war.

The American concept of peace goes well beyond the absence of war. It foresees a flowering of economic growth and individual liberty in a world at peace. At the economic summit conference in Garmisch, I met with the leaders of 21 nations and sketched out our approach to global economic growth. We want to eliminate the barriers to trade and investment which hinder these critical incentives to growth. We want to help the poorest nations achieve self-sustaining growth.

And terms like "peace" and "security," we have to say, have little meaning for the oppressed and the destitute. They also mean little to the individual whose state has stripped him of human freedom and dignity. Wherever there's oppression, we must strive for the peace and security of individual as well as states. We must recognize that progress in the pursuit

of liberty is a necessary complement to military security.

Nowhere has this fundamental truth been more boldly and clearly stated than in the Helsinki accords of 1975. These accords have not yet been translated into living reality. Today I've pronounced an agenda that can help to achieve peace, security and freedom across the globe in a responsible spirit that is matched by positive action.

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